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ABSTRACT

This report evaluates the progress that has been made since three landmarks in blacks' struggle for equal treatment in the United States. Despite the 1944 case of Smith vs. Allwright, in which the Supreme Court decided that the Texas White Primary was unconstitutional, growing evasion and resistance by whites limited gains in black enfranchisement and political power until the enactment of the United States Voting Rights Act in 1965 and the consequent massive registration campaigns. The goals and rewards of maximum participation of blacks in the South's political system lay some distance ahead. Though there are still inequities in southern education, since Brown vs. the Board of Education in 1954 progress has been made in the following: (1) increasing the average number of years of schooling blacks complete; (2) increasing the number who complete college; (3) increasing per pupil expenditure; (4) increasing black attendance at white state colleges and universities; and (5) increasing elementary and secondary school integration. Though blacks have gained slightly in job opportunities since the 1964 Civil Rights Act swept away legal segregation, their participation in low status jobs remains sharply disproportionate and income disparity continues. Race remains a limiting factor. (PS)

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Southern Council Calls For Change Of Ways In South

SOUTHERN COUNCIL SEEKS BETTER RIGHTS APPROACH

Southern Regional Council Voice Seen As Decisive In Growing Segregation Issue

up Thinks Nation convinced Responsibilities Met

BODY WOULD DEFY SEGREGATIONISTS

ATLANTA.—A more statesmanlike approach

Savannah Morning News

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948

Southern Regional Council Says Many in South Are Ready for Integration

By JOHN V. DODD

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI ADVOCATE December 12, 1939

The Southern Regional Council Assails Pupil Placement Laws

Say Placement Use Will Only Prolong The South's Unrest

a pupil's entry might lead to order or psychological unrest. SRC Reports 8 Cities Have Desegregated Counters

SOUTH IS TOLD TO CHANGE WAYS

Southern Regional Council Report Issued

RESPONSIBILITY CITED

Section Is Told to Cool Off Hot Head

Southern Regional Council Leads Dixie Toward School Integration

EDITOR'S NOTE—In the Deep South one organization stands out as likely to wield the most influence in shaping the region's attitudes toward integration. Here is the story of the Southern Regional Council, whose executive director believes segregation in schools will be ended in a dozen years.

race relations. His council is THE NEW YORK TIME

DIXIE LEADERSHIP ON BIAS ASSAILED

New South Desegregation Pressure Will Grow, Says Council

al Council Asks South to repudiate 'Fraudulent' Practices on School Issue

SAVANNAH GEORGIA NEWS August 16, 1939

Southern Regional Council Says Segregation

Biracial Unit Jogs Key

By Joseph H. Baird

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

President

ATLANTA (AP)—Segregation will fail in the

40 Years Since the End of the White Primary,
30 Years Since the Brown Decision,
20 Years Since the Passage of the Civil Rights Act

A Special Fortieth Anniversary Paper

Outlook

Found Improving

But Serious Bias Remains, Southern Council Reports

Atlanta

Southerners vote along racial lines: SRC study shows

ATLANTA (AP) — Southerners cast their presidential votes strictly along racial lines, a study by the Southern Regional Council shows.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORT:

Public Housing SRC Making A Return

To Social Justice War Rights Slowly

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accumulators on Death among black by half a dozen a small and SRC's executive Friday.

SOUTHERN MANIFEST

At Meeting Of SRC Here

SRC often successful in battles

The Southern Regional Council recently revealed a list of 100 cities in the South in which it has been successful in its efforts to desegregate public housing. The list was presented at a meeting of the SRC in Atlanta on Sunday.

has included Barbara Jordan, drew Young and Julian Bond. on the South in the spring and summer of 1960 when thousands of young blacks and whites protested segregation by 'sitting in' on buses, walking into white lunch and sleeping in the lobbies of hotels.

Many more are said for trouble.

UD025331

40th Anniversary Papers
of the
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

"Forty Years Since The White Primary"

"Thirty Years Since The Brown Decision"

"Twenty Years Since The Passage of the Civil Rights Act"

Prepared by Marge Manderson

"Forty Years Since the White Primary"

1944: The End of the All-White Primary

In April, 1944, the Supreme Court case of Smith v. Allwright decided that the Texas White primary was unconstitutional. The newly incorporated Southern Regional Council issued one of its earliest fact-finding reports--THE WHITE PRIMARY, 1944, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GEORGIA--describing the aftermath: the forces of opposition were hard at work in the South, the "White Supremacy" issue had been seized upon to incite whites. The South Carolina House of Representatives, for example, proclaimed its belief in white supremacy; a Georgia official urged withdrawal from the Democratic Convention, saying, "the New Deal is attempting to destroy the traditions of the South"; and in a hotly contested political campaign in Alabama, billboards read: "Vote for James Simpson, a believer in Democratic principles, States' Rights, and White Supremacy."

But several influential Southern papers took a stand for black participation in the primaries--most of them after the elections were held, the SRC report noted--and blacks across the South organized to test the openness of the summer's primaries. In the lower South, all but a few were denied ballots. Cases followed in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi; the white primary had more than ten years previously been abandoned in North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee. By 1946, substantial numbers of blacks were permitted to vote in primaries for the first time since Reconstruction.

The estimated total of registered blacks in eleven Southern states in 1940 was about 101,000. By 1947, the total had grown

to about 560,000. Registered black voters were 11.4% of the black voting age population. In seven years there had been a visible "decline in the barriers to voting in the urban industrial areas...but little change in the rural farm areas," observed Dr. Luther P. Jackson in a major SRC study, RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940. State by state estimates show an uneven pattern with relatively slower rates of registration in most Deep South states:

	1940 Estimated Black Reg. Voters	1947 Estimated Black Reg. Voters	1947 Reg. Blacks as % of Vot- ing Age Pop.
Alabama	2,000	6,000	1.2
Arkansas	4,000	47,000	7.3
Florida	18,000	49,000	15.4
Georgia	20,000	125,000	18.8
Louisiana	2,000	10,000	2.6
Mississippi	2,000	5,000	0.9
N. Carolina	35,000	75,000	15.2
S. Carolina	3,000	50,000	13.0
Tennessee	20,000	80,000	25.8
Texas	30,000	100,000	18.5
Virginia	15,000	48,000	12.0

Despite removal of the white primary, two effective barriers to black voting remained in place: the poll tax and the registration requirement and procedure.

By 1948, the poll tax persisted in a majority of Southern states; it had been abolished in only four: North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana. In Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama, it constituted an especially significant barrier either by the amount of money to be paid, by the time and method of

payment, or by its cumulative features. But an even greater instrument for race distinction was the registration requirement. "Seized upon by the Southern states for disenfranchising value, registration has been extended to embrace such tests of applicants as personal character, property ownership, education, and it is commonly administered with an evil eye to discrimination between the races," Jackson wrote. Other registration criteria included putting unreasonable questions on the Constitution to black applicants; basing rejection of black registrants on alleged technical mistakes in filling out registration blanks; requiring black applicants to fill out their own blanks while those of whites were filled out for them by the officials; evasion -- informing blacks that registration cards have run out, that it is closing time, or that the applicant will be notified in due course; deliberate insults or threats by officials and/or hangers-on. In some states, registration in rural areas and in many towns was conducted not in a public office but in private homes of whites, where under the unwritten laws of racial etiquette, blacks were not permitted to go except as servants.

These barriers limited severely the numbers of blacks who could be elected. From 1935 through 1947, at least 100 blacks were candidates in county, city, and state elections in Texas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia. By 1947, no more than four had won. Their positions included:

- Alderman, Winston Salem, N.C., 1947
- Supervisor, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1947
- Councilman, Richmond, Virginia 1948.

Beyond these posts, black political participation included

only a few modest breakthroughs:

- Admittance of blacks into the ranks of the Democratic party in about half of the states of the South, with the greatest integration in Tennessee and Oklahoma, followed by Virginia and North Carolina, "where they have advanced from the point of serving as committeemen in city precincts to representation as delegates to the state party convention," according to Jackson; and
- Participation in the operation of polls and registration of voters, with black registrars for black districts appointed in Raleigh, N.C., and on mixed registration boards in West Palm Beach, Florida. There had also been black "judges of election" in Norfolk, Va., and other Southern cities.

White reaction to these developments was mixed. "Cross racial" voting was noticeable in the 1947 Richmond, Virginia election of Oliver Hill to the City Council. In a 1947 election in Raleigh, N. C., a Black candidate received "more votes from whites than from blacks." But in Mississippi, in the mid-Forties a black was driven out of the state for daring to offer himself for national office.

With modest numbers of registered voters, blacks were at the time of Jackson's study able to exercise deciding power over city officeholders in a few cases. In some cities of Georgia, Florida, Texas, and Alabama, their vote determined the outcome of elections. "Holding the balance of power in many instances, their vote has been a factor in driving out of office city machines of

long duration, in favor of more liberal office holders," according to Jackson.

But the Fifties and early Sixties saw growing white evasion and resistance, limiting gains in black enfranchisement and political power. It was not until enactment of the U. S. Voting Rights Act in 1965 and the massive voter registration campaigns of that decade that quantum leaps in black political participation at last arrived in the South.

1984: A Black Runs for President

By 1984, spectacular gains in Black political empowerment had occurred. Through an enormous campaign of community organizing, direct protest, litigation, and voter education, in less than two decades following passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act the estimated number of registered blacks in 11 Southern states increased by more than two million: from 2,620,000 in mid-1966 to more than 4,900,000, in May 1984. In turn, the number of black elected officials in the South increased from a handful in 1965 to a total of 2,861 by 1983. "Blacks have changed from political object to political participant and have made the South the home of a majority of the nation's black elected officials, in the most phenomenal American political change in this century," said an SRC report.

But the data also showed that the black potential for political participation remained unfilled: more than 3 million voting age blacks as yet were unregistered. Only 1.0 percent of 1325 members of Southern state legislatures were black, while the region's Black population was 19.6 percent. One-half of one

percent of the 457 state senate seats were held by blacks. Although blacks were 40% or more of the total population in 175 Southern counties, in many of those counties--and even some that were majority-black--they held no membership on county or municipal governing boards.

At the state level, there were ironies: hardnose Mississippi, with 68 percent of blacks of voting age registered, was closer to full black registration than California, New York, or New Jersey. It also had more black elected officials than any other state in the nation.

And, in North Carolina, where blacks were elected to public office in the 1940's in a Southern first, registered blacks as a percent of voting age blacks lagged behind five other Southern states, at 59.6% percent. Georgia and South Carolina had the lowest percentages of registered blacks of any state. State by state, 1984 voter registration statistics follow.

	1984 Blacks <u>Registered</u>	Registered Blacks as % of Voting Age <u>Population</u>
Alabama	482,000	69.1%
Arkansas	155,000	60.9%
Florida	517,000	55.5%
Georgia	512,000	50.6%
Louisiana	535,000	62.6%
Mississippi	406,000	68.2%
N. Carolina	565,000	59.6%
S. Carolina	331,000	49.8%
Tennessee	348,000	67.1%
Texas	720,000	59.1%
Virginia	378,000	50.7%
Total	<u>4,949,000</u>	

SOURCE: Voter Education Project; projections of voting age population for November, 1984: Bureau of the Census; American Political Report, registration figures for May 1984.

Fullfillment of the potential for black office holding remained a distant goal in parts of all Southern states. By mid-1983, five of the South's large cities had black mayors: New Orleans, Atlanta, Charlotte, Birmingham, and West Palm Beach, but only two Southern Congressional districts were represented by blacks (in Tennessee and Texas), and there were no black U. S. senators.

Overall, in 11 Southern states, there were:

- 21 Black state Senators
- 135 Black members of State Houses of Representatives
- 325 Black members of county governing boards
- 142 Black mayors
- 1,189 Black members of municipal governing bodies.

By state, the totals in February, 1984 were:

State	Total Blk Office Holders	Black State Sen.	Black State Rep.	Blacks on County Gov. Bds.	Black Mayors	Blacks on City Gov. Bds.
Alabama	309	3	17	36	25	130
Arkansas	297	1	4	0	18	119
Florida	128	2	10	3	7	82
Georgia	284	4	21	24	12	141
Louisiana	408	2	11	86	13	141
Mississippi	433	2	15	28	21	163
N. Carolina	291	1	11	27	17	144
S. Carolina	252	0	20	33	14	108
Tennessee	131	3	10	50	1	27
Texas	230	1	12	8	9	89
Virginia	98	2	4	30	5	45
Total	2,861	21	135	325	142	1,189

SOURCE: Joint Center for Political Studies, February, 1984.

Obstacles to full political participation continue. In nature, they are unlike the racially exclusive tests, the intimidation and reprisal of the 1960's; rather, they are institutional, and are abetted by whites who are unsympathetic to black political power. Deterrants to black registration include, primarily, the local discretion given to registrars, who set registration times and places that preclude substantial black registration and the small number of black registrars. Deterrants to black office holding, as reported in 1983 by SRC, continue because: "Invariably, blacks win elections only in jurisdictions or districts which are clearly majority black and only after they have overcome various impediments placed by established white power structures." Gone is the racial crossover voting visible in the Forties. "White bloc voting in combination with either at-large or unfairly apportioned election district" constitute the major obstacles today, said an SRC report.

Intensive registration campaigns were conducted in 1983-84. Boosted by a black presidential candidate, they helped increase markedly total black registration above the 1980 figure. But for reasons that are complex, it appears doubtful that the potential envisioned by SRC President Tony Harrison will be reached by the end of 1984. The black vote, Harrison had envisioned, "can change the direction of the country, if we expand our base of registered voters and our participation in the political system. Our geographic concentration could be very critical, not only to the nomination of the Democratic nominee for President, but also in determining the next President of this nation. In addition...the Black community can greatly impact the control of the U. S.

Senate and the margin of control in the House of Representatives." (Crisis magazine, Nov., 1983).

For now, the goal of maximum participation of blacks in the South's political system--and the rewards of that participation for black communities, the South, and the nation--lie some distance ahead. At the same time, political changes over forty years in the South suggest that the hopes of improving the opportunities of blacks and others in many areas will be realized only with future political changes rooted in the last forty years.

"Thirty Years Since The Brown Decision"

The Early 1950's and The Brown Decision

At the start of 1954, only a few months had elapsed since Marion A. Wright had, in his presidential address to the Southern Regional Council's ninth Annual Meeting, hailed the "brilliant legal victories of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." SRC's support of the court suits was considered unpopular and radical in the white South. The NAACP, Wright continued, had "placed every mortal eternally in its debt" by helping "to secure for this and succeeding generations the privilege of living in a land where rights are protected by law."

Beginning in the early 1950's, in anticipation of a positive decision from the U.S. Supreme Court in the school desegregation cases before it (from Clarendon County, S. C., Prince Edward County, Va., Topeka, Kansas, Wilmington, Del., and Washington, D. C.) the SRC program had turned from its focus on the inequities and impracticalities of segregated school systems to programmatic effort that promoted a "solid backing of public opinion" that would respond to a school desegregation order with more than "sullen, grudging compliance." The South must instead "move willingly and even eagerly into a new era in human relations in the Southern states," urged the Council.

The poor quality of Southern public education under the "separate but equal" system had been documented in an SRC research report in the late Fifties. Inferior Southern education was "a cross that the South as a whole has to bear--and shake off as soon as possible," the report urged, and black and rural populations were disparately burdened. (SRC called for federal aid to education, a position bitterly opposed by a majority of white Southerners. Federal aid, its opponents said, would "open the way to Federal dictatorship of the nation's schools.")

On the eve of the Brown decision, the facts showed that the state of Southern education remained bleak, and blacks suffered far more than Whites:

- In 1950, 42% of the blacks in eleven Southern states aged 25 and over had completed less than five years of elementary school, compared to 13% of Southern whites;
- 53% of all Southern blacks residing on rural farms had completed less than five years of elementary school, compared to 20% of whites;
- 2% of Southern blacks aged 25 and over had completed college, compared to 6% of whites;
- Per pupil expenditures in eleven Southern states in 1954-55 was 69% of the national per pupil expenditure;
- 1952 black per pupil expenditures in eight Southern states averaged only 68% of white per pupil expenditures.

At the root of Southern disparities, SRC maintained, was a racially segregated education system. In the early Fifties, only a few cracks had begun to appear:

- A few black graduate students were admitted by the courts to state supported colleges in three states by 1951: Texas (three students in 1946); Louisiana (one student in 1950); Virginia (two students, 1950). In Arkansas, three Black students were admitted to state graduate schools voluntarily in 1948, following a Supreme Court opinion about Texas.
- Some 20 private colleges by the Fall of 1951 admitted Black students. With few exceptions, the colleges were theological seminaries, most black students were on the graduate level, and many blacks were not permitted to eat in the dining rooms or live in the dormitories.

Then, on May 17, 1954, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal and, one year later, ordered that dual school systems be dismantled with all deliberate speed.

Education After The Brown Decision

The journey of thirty years from the Brown decision to 1984 was, in the white South, rarely made with willingness, overwhelmingly done with "sullen and grudging compliance" or much worse. There was pervasive and sometimes violent white resistance to school integration, undergirded by costly and time-consuming evasive actions by Southern state and local governments. It was not until the 1970's that significant school desegregation spread to all school systems, on order of federal courts backed by federal administrative policy.

In the years since, there have been new problems: white flight, black teacher displacement, discriminatory school discipline, black push-outs, in-school segregation, unenthusiastic white governance of majority-black schools, erosion of black and white middle class support, and dwindling local financial support. At the same time, in many Southern school systems the numerical extent of racial integration sets a standard for the nation. In many such schools integration is accepted and enjoyed by all. In some states, steps toward equalization of school financing have been taken; in other states the need for new policy insuring financial equity has at least been recognized. In even the most adverse settings, such as the majority-black school districts of the Black Belt, the willingness of some in the community to work for and improve public education remains high.

As the Southern Regional Council reported in the mid-Seventies:

"Some Southern cities...split along racial lines. Some...smaller communities still practice discrimination, whether with old directness or new subtlety, and in some rural areas the white students were all in private schools while only blacks attended the public schools. In the region as a whole, though, from Virginia to Texas, public schools systems were trying with varying degrees of success to do what many cities and towns elsewhere in the nation were saying could not be done; they were trying to make biracial schools a functional reality."

Thirty years after Brown, while the state of Southern education shows continued inequities, progress toward their elimination has been made.

- In 1980, 13% of all Southern Blacks aged 25 and over had completed less than five years of elementary school, compared to 4% of Southern Whites;
- 20% of all Southern Blacks residing on rural farms had completed less than five years of elementary school, compared to 5% of Whites;
- 8% of Southern Blacks aged 25 and over had completed college, compared to 17% of Whites;
- Per pupil expenditures for 1980-81 in eleven Southern states were 78% of the national per pupil expenditure;

- Majority black school districts were underfunded, as in Alabama where the average local revenues per pupil in 12 majority black districts were 85% of the local revenues in 12 comparable white districts.

In numbers, the success of integration varies widely. There is, most certainly, more to be done.

- By 1982, blacks were less than 7% of all students in the 11 leading previously white state universities (main campuses) in the 11 Southern states. They were 20% of the 11 states' total population in 1980.
- Integration in previously White private colleges remained low in 1982. In three of the largest such colleges, blacks ranged between 2.3% and 4.4% of total enrollment. (e. g. Tulane: 4%; Duke: 4.4%.)
- The extent of elementary and secondary school integration varied widely from district to district. In 21 majority Black districts in the Black Belt of Georgia, for example, 23 of a total of 88 schools were in racial balance with district population ratios. 26 of the 88 schools were more than 90% Black. (1978 data.)

The search for defining and providing excellence in education for all the South's children continues. The following comparisons of changes 1950-1980 in quality and equity in Southern education, by race and by state, suggest the distance and progress towards today's goals, thirty years after Brown.

Table #1

**Those With Less than 5 Years Elementary
School as a Percent of all Persons 25 Years
Old and Over: 1950 and 1980**

	1950		1980	
	B	W	B	W
Alabama	44.6	13.4	14.4	4.1
Arkansas	43.0	13.6	15.6	4.6
Florida	40.1	7.2	12.1	2.3
Georgia	50.1	14.0	14.0	4.1
Louisiana	52.5	18.3	15.1	5.2
Mississippi	47.8	9.4	16.7	3.5
N. Carolina	39.2	15.5	9.7	4.5
S. Carolina	51.3	15.3	15.3	3.3
Tennessee	33.7	15.4	10.4	5.4
Texas	25.7	13.8	7.7	5.0
Virginia	37.3	12.3	10.7	3.6
11-state South	42.3	13.4	12.9	4.1
U.S.	31.4	8.7	8.2	2.6

Table #2

**Those With Less than 5 Years Elementary
School as a Percent of all Persons 25 Years
Old and Over Who Reside on Rural Farms: 1950
and 1980**

	1950		1980	
	B	W	B	W
Alabama	56.1	20.0	16.7	4.4
Arkansas	49.9	18.8	19.3	4.4
Florida	56.1	16.3	26.3	2.6
Georgia	61.3	21.7	24.4	4.2
Louisiana	67.0	30.5	22.4	7.0
Mississippi	53.2	13.3	19.7	2.7
N. Carolina	46.4	21.4	16.9	5.1
S. Carolina	56.5	20.8	17.3	3.7
Tennessee	45.1	22.4	20.7	6.0
Texas	38.9	17.0	12.7	3.6
Virginia	48.6	21.5	20.0	5.8
11-state South	52.6	20.3	19.7	4.5
U.S.	51.0	12.2	18.3	2.2

Table #3

**Those Completing at Least Four Years of College
as a Percent of All Persons 25 Years Old and Over:
1950 and 1980**

	1950		1980	
	B	W	B	W
Alabama	1.3	4.6	7.2	13.5
Arkansas	1.2	3.6	6.0	11.5
Florida	1.7	7.4	7.3	15.8
Georgia	1.4	5.7	7.5	16.6
Louisiana	1.2	6.2	7.5	16.0
Mississippi	0.6	6.1	7.1	14.4
N. Carolina	2.6	5.8	9.7	14.7
S. Carolina	1.7	7.2	6.4	20.6
Tennessee	1.9	4.5	7.9	13.2
Texas	2.5	6.5	9.1	18.5
Virginia	2.1	7.4	7.9	21.1
11-state South	1.7	5.9	7.6	16.0
U.S.	2.2	6.4	8.4	17.1

Table #4

**Total Expenditures for Public Elementary and
Secondary Schools Per Pupil As Percentage of National
Expenditure**

		1954-55		1980-81	
		Per pupil in ADA* \$	As a % of U.S.	Per pupil in ADA* \$	As a % of U.S.
Alabama	\$164	(-)	64%	\$1,425	59%
Arkansas	125		47%	1,614	66%
Florida	230		87%	2,357	97%
Georgia	160		61%	1,791	74%
Louisiana	247	(-)	94%	2,050	84%
Mississippi	131		50%	1,781	73%
N. Carolina	168		64%	2,030	83%
S. Carolina	176		67%	1,747	72%
Tennessee	151		57%	1,835	75%
Texas	253	(-)	97%	1,923	79%
Virginia	\$185		70%	\$2,242	92%
11-state South	\$181		69%	\$1,891	78%
U.S.	\$261.68			\$2,436	

*per pupil in average daily attendance

Table #5

SOUTHERN COLLEGES ACCEPTING BLACK STUDENTS: 1950-51

By 1950 there were a few black graduate students only in state universities in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Virginia.

A 1951 survey showed that the following private colleges accepted blacks. Some accepted only black graduate students and some did not permit blacks to live in dormitories or eat in dining rooms.

- 1) Columbia Theological Seminary,
Decatur, Georgia
- 2) Berea College, Berea, Kentucky
- 3) Nazareth College, Louisville,
Kentucky
- 4) Southern Baptist Theological
Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky
- 5) New Orleans Baptist Theological
Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana
- 6) Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas
- 7) Wayland College, Plainview, Texas
- 8) Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort
Worth, Texas
- 9) Austin Theological Seminary, Austin,
Texas
- 10) Union Theological Seminary, Richmond,
Virginia
- 11) Loyola University, New Orleans,
Louisiana
- 12) Louisville Theological Seminary,
Louisville, Kentucky

Table #6

DESEGREGATION IN LARGEST STATE UNIVERSITIES*IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES: FALL, 1982

<u>University</u>	<u>Black Enrollment</u>	<u>Black Enrollment</u> <u>as % of Total</u>
U. of Alabama	1,452	9.0%
U. of Arkansas	878	5.4%
U. of Florida	1,735	5.0%
U. of Georgia	1,294	4.9%
Louisiana State U.	1,924	6.1%
U. of Mississippi	715	7.5%
U. of North Carolina	1,917	8.6%
U. of South Carolina	3,065	12.4%
U. of Tennessee	1,215	4.4%
U. of Texas	1,311	2.7%
U. of Virginia	1,165	6.8%

*Main campus only

Table #7

DESEGREGATION IN SELECTED PRIVATE COLLEGES: FALL, 1982

<u>College</u>	<u>Black Enrollment</u>	<u>Black Enrollment</u> <u>as % of Total</u>
Mercer U., Georgia	398	13.4%
Tulane, Louisiana	428	4.0%
Duke U., North Carolina	438	4.4%

"Twenty Years Since the Passage of the Civil Rights Act"

Before Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

An extraordinary revolt led to passage of a substantive national Civil Rights Act in Summer, 1964, a revolution that began symbolically in February, 1960, when four black college students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro, N. C., and asked for service. This "solitary instance of spontaneous rebellion" became "a movement of truly massive proportions, which stirred the conscience of the South and of the nation," according to a report of the Southern Regional Council. The tactics of nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience swept the South, directed by blacks against Southern laws and customs that required racial segregation in eating facilities, water fountains, rest rooms, hotels, recreation facilities, public transportation, schools, and indeed, all places to which the public was invited, including churches, organizations, offices, industries, and factories.

The spread of the non-violent black movement was wild-fire, and in many areas, it achieved its immediate purpose. Reported SRC, "'They work, they work,' demonstrators told reporters, told themselves and other Negroes, partly in surprise,...mainly in a pragmatic rallying cry." By Summer, 1960, sit-ins or other direct action had taken place in more than a hundred cities, involving active participation of at least 70,000 students and adults; a battery of new legal actions directed against segregation soon undergirded the sit-in tactic.

Until the advent of the sit-ins, public and private life in the South was rigidly segregated by race, its duality mandated by state and local laws that were actively enforced. By 1960, public transportation had lately been desegregated in some cities, as a result of actions beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott of the Fifties; token school integration had occurred in a few cities, almost entirely by order of the courts; interracial gatherings took place on black private college campuses if at all; and in the only known significantly integrated offices in Atlanta, those of the Southern Regional Council, staff "brown-bagged" lunches so blacks and whites could eat together. In the years before 1960 all of public life and most of private life amounted to segregation only.

The effects of the segregated system, along with racial discrimination, were highly visible in the marketplace. In overwhelming proportions, blacks held low-status, low-salaried menial and service jobs; when found in high status jobs, it was in black institutions or black businesses. Data of the 1960 U. S. Census show by state the imbalance of blacks in occupations, (Table #1).

(Table #1)

**CONCENTRATION OF EMPLOYED NONWHITE PERSONS
IN NON-TRADITIONAL JOBS: 1960**

State	Non-White Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers as % of all Non- White Workers
Alabama	5.0%
Arkansas	4.4%
Florida	3.9%
Georgia	4.1%
Louisiana	4.8%
Mississippi	4.4%
North Carolina	5.0%
South Carolina	3.3%
Tennessee	4.6%
Texas	4.9%
Virginia	4.8%

In public employment, the disparities affecting blacks were similar to those of the private sector. In 16 major Southern city work forces (including Oklahoma City), in 1951, SRC had found that of a total of 6,487 black municipal employees:

- 86.2 percent were Service and Unskilled workers
- 4.1 percent were Semi-skilled
- 0.7 percent were skilled
- 1.1 percent were Semi-professional
- 0.7 percent were Clerical employees
- 7.2 percent were in Managerial-Professional positions.

An overwhelming preponderance of jobs were marked "White Only"; in part, this barrier led to high rates of unemployment among blacks in the region. By state, the statistics of unemployment, by race, at the time of the 1960 U. S. Census follow.

Table #2

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY RACE: 196

State	Black Unemployed	White Unemployed
Alabama	8.4	4.7
Arkansas	9.1	5.3
Florida	6.7	4.6
Georgia	6.3	3.8
Louisiana	10.3	4.9
Mississippi	7.1	4.5
N. Carolina	6.0	2.9
S. Carolina	5.7	3.4
Tennessee	6.5	5.0
Texas	7.1	4.1
Virginia	7.1	3.5

Median family income statistics for the year 1959, as reported in the 1960 Census, showed that for each \$1.00 in white income, black income was rarely more than .50 cents and sometimes

just above above one-third of one dollar. State by-state data follow.

Table #3

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME, NON-WHITE AS % OF WHITE

<u>State</u>	<u>1960</u>
Alabama	41.8%
Arkansas	44.4%
Florida	54.4%
Georgia	43.5%
Louisiana	42.0%
Mississippi	34.3%
North Carolina	43.4%
South Carolina	34.7%
Tennessee	52.9%
Texas	44.7%
Virginia	50.3%

By early 1964, most variety store lunch counters (especially those of national chains), a few restaurants, occasional movie chains, some department store restrooms and water fountains, and some public facilities had ceased to segregate by race. The changes were wrought by the force of black pressures. Modest numbers of blacks were being hired in some stores, as a result of negotiated agreements between store owners and blacks. But the vast majority of facilities and accommodations that were open to the white public still refused service to blacks; the new black jobs were few. It was not until a national mobilization of pressure--a product of spreading sympathy to the cause of Southern blacks--that a remedy was found: the Congress of the United States passed the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 and it was signed into law by the President.

After the Passage of the Act

With the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress eliminated not just segregation in public facilities and accommodations; discrimination in federally-supported programs, discrimination by federal government contractors, housing discrimination and discrimination in public and private employment were also outlawed. Most public facilities and accommodations soon complied with requirements of the new Act (although some closed or converted into private clubs, while enforcement procedures were used by more than a few Blacks who had been denied service). Under the Act, programs to eliminate discrimination gradually got underway, and organized civil rights forces increasingly turned away from direct action to efforts to strengthen and ensure the Act's enforcement.

More than 15 years after enactment of the Black Movement's capstone, the Civil Rights Act, SRC summed up the Movement successes: "The forces of the Black Movement toppled the legal underpinnings of Southern racial segregation, brought subtle changes in racial attitudes of whites about blacks, and of blacks about their own ability to change things. The same forces fostered federal legislation protecting the rights of victims of past discrimination to equal opportunity; lessened the power of terror as a means of social control; and brought the beginning of black political power in the South."

And the failures: "Even today, neither organizational strategies nor governmental responses have successfully attacked problems that are deeply rooted in the American socio-economic order. Conditioned by segregation and discrimination, these problems are reflected in the gap between black and white median income statistics, unemployment rates, and in the spreading city slums that trap a black economic underclass. It is also true, as many have observed, that the benefits of Movement victories have fallen to the middle and upper income class of blacks, and not to the masses."

With legal segregation swept away, have the nation and the South adequately addressed our most pressing domestic problem: the elimination of an economic underclass comprised of Blacks and minorities? The data of occupations, unemployment and personal income reflected in the 1980 Census and other recent sources help answer this question.

By 1981, Blacks gained slightly in participation in non-traditional jobs, with the largest gains in clerical, skilled crafts, and protective workers job groups. But their participation in low status jobs--operatives, laborers, service workers--was sharply disproportionate.

Table #4

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACKS IN NINE OCCUPATION GROUPS:

11 Southern States, 1981

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	Officls	Profes	Techni	Sales	Office	Craft	Opera	Labor	Servc	
State	& Mgrs	nls	cians	Wrkrs	Wrkrs	Wrkrs	tives	ers	Wrkrs	Total
Alabama	3.0	1.5	3.2	3.6	7.6	10.2	38.8	16.6	15.7	100%
Arkansas	2.7	1.3	2.8	4.0	8.0	10.1	35.2	23.9	12.1	100%
Florida	3.5	2.7	3.7	7.6	13.7	7.4	21.3	16.9	23.9	100%
Georgia	3.4	1.8	2.4	5.6	10.4	8.7	35.5	17.0	15.2	100%
Louisiana	3.4	1.8	3.0	6.6	10.8	13.4	26.3	15.4	19.4	100%
Mississippi	2.4	1.4	2.1	3.5	5.8	13.4	40.6	19.4	11.5	100%
N. Carolina	2.6	1.4	2.2	3.9	7.5	10.1	44.2	16.6	11.4	100%
S. Carolina	2.6	.9	2.2	2.4	5.4	11.8	49.8	14.3	10.8	100%
Tennessee	3.7	1.6	3.0	5.2	11.0	8.7	32.8	16.3	17.7	100%
Texas	3.9	3.3	5.4	6.0	16.6	11.0	23.5	11.9	18.4	100%
Virginia	4.0	2.5	3.7	5.7	11.4	9.8	30.3	15.7	16.9	100%

Source: EEOC

In public employment, blacks continued to be concentrated in low status, low salaried jobs. In the mid-1970's, an analysis of employment patterns in 16 Southern city employment systems led the Council to conclude: "Clearly, the bottom line in 1975 was systemic disparity for Blacks and women, disparity not substantially altered in ten years by sixteen Southern cities. If progress continues at a pace so slow, by any reckoning, parity will not be achieved for more than fifty years". In the combined cities, occupational

distribution of blacks was as follows:

Table #5

**Distribution Of Blacks In Seven Occupational Groups:
1975 - Selected Southern Cities**

	Offcl Adm	Profess ionals	Techni nicians	Protect Serv	Parapro fessnls	Office Clercl	Skilled Crafts	Serv Maint	Total
Black Males	1%	2%	2%	9%	2%	1%	10%	74%	100%
Black Females	1%	8%	4%	6%	21%	36%	1%	24%	100%

In all but a few states, unemployment of blacks was at least two and a half times white unemployment in 1980, a ratio substantially larger than that of 1960:

Table #6

Unemployment By Race - 1980

State	Black Unemployed	White Unemployed
Alabama	13.2	5.9
Arkansas	12.8	6.0
Florida	8.6	4.5
Georgia	10.3	4.5
Louisiana	10.7	4.4
Mississippi	12.8	4.8
N. Carolina	10.2	4.3
S. Carolina	10.5	4.5
Tennessee	12.7	6.6
Texas	6.9	3.4
Virginia	9.3	4.3

Black median income, when computed as a percentage of White median income, ranged between 50 and 64 percent in the eleven Southern states. For every one dollar earned by Whites in Louisiana, for example, blacks earned 50 cents. In Florida the gap between black and white family income closed by less than 5 percentage points in twenty years (Table #7).

Table #7

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME, BLACK INCOME AS % OF WHITE INCOME

	<u>1980</u>	<u>Percentage Point</u> <u>Change Since 1960</u>
Alabama	55.4	13.6
Arkansas	58.0	13.6
Florida	59.2	4.8
Georgia	56.1	12.6
Louisiana	50.1	8.1
Mississippi	52.2	17.9
North Carolina	62.6	19.2
South Carolina	59.1	24.4
Tennessee	64.0	11.1
Texas	62.2	17.5
Virginia	61.8	11.5

An SRC director wrote in 1979 of continued racial gaps between the incomes of families: "Race remains a major factor in determining limits of Southern opportunities of most men and women today and perhaps most children tomorrow. A view of Southern economic life which obscures the fact that blacks are not equal in status and opportunity to whites is not color blind. It is without the power of sight and the facts of recent history." In 1984 it remains clear that the American promises of equal opportunity embodied in the Civil Rights Act will be realized only with new commitments and new remedies in the South and the nation.